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CHICAGO SUN TIMES 8 December 1981 Pg. 19 (9)

Be prepared for attack: naval chief

NEW YORK TIMES

9 December 1981 Pg. 1

**Haig Aide's Remark
On Irish Unification
Stirs Furor in Britain**

By WILLIAM BORDERS

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Dec. 8 — Deputy Secretary of State William P. Clark Jr. has said that the American people support the reunification of Ireland, inspiring private expressions of annoyance today from British officials.

Those in Northern Ireland who want to remain linked with Britain have denounced what they see as an attempt by the United States to interfere in their affairs. And Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, pressed for an explanation this afternoon in Parliament, pointedly reminded the United States that the future of the province was an exclusively British concern.

Interview Taped in Dublin

The British Government is understood to be seeking an explanation from Washington of whether Mr. Clark's comment, made during an interview broadcast on Dublin television Monday night, represented a change in the frequently expressed United States Government policy of noninterference in the IRELAND... Pg. 4

NEW YORK TIMES

9 December 1981 Pg. 14

No Policy Change, U.S. Asserts

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8 — The State Department said today that Mr. Clark had not meant to signal any change in American policy toward Ireland during his recent trip there.

Responding to the controversy caused by the Deputy Secretary's remarks in a television interview in Dublin, a State Department spokesman, Alan D. Romberg, said that American policy remained as it had been enunciated by President Reagan: that it was up to the Irish and British to solve the situation by themselves and that it was not up to the United States to chart a course for the parties.

WASHINGTON POST

9 December 1981 Pg. 1

Economic Sanctions Planned Against Libya

By George Lardner Jr. and Lee Lescaze

Washington Post Staff Writers

The administration is planning some form of economic sanctions against Libya but is still in the middle of high-level discussions to determine their scope, according to senior administration officials.

President Reagan convened a session of the National Security Council again yesterday to take up the issue for the second consecutive day, and the group adjourned in mid-afternoon without reaching a conclusion.

One of the ideas reportedly under consideration involves asking U.S. allies from the ranks of the major industrial oil-importing countries to join in an effort to cut the market for Libyan oil. But to do this, officials say, the United States would have to take the lead.

"This president feels that it's inconsistent to pay a big bill to Libya every year while at the same time asking our friends to stop dealing with them," one knowledgeable source said.

The Libyan news agency, JANA, said over the weekend that the CIA had "sent to NATO a secret report which instigates West European countries to counter Libya's policy and foil economic relations with this state."

The White House yesterday afternoon was said to be within 24 to 48 hours of briefing congressional leaders on what it intends to do. Two press statements, apparently differing in the sternness of their rhetoric, reportedly

LIBYA... Pg. 2

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

9 December 1981 Pg. 2

**Weinberger urges NATO
to buck antinuclear tide**

Brussels

US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger called on NATO allies to take the offensive against the antinuclear movement in Western Europe and counter a tide of Soviet "misinformation and disinformation."

Mr. Weinberger, in a closed meeting of NATO defense ministers, informed his colleagues about the progress of US-Soviet negotiations to limit nuclear weapons in Europe, which began last week in Geneva.

From Sun-Times Wires

PEARL HARBOR, Hawaii—A top naval commander, commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, warned Monday that the United States would have no time to "rebuild and rearm" if attacked by a modern-day adversary such as the Soviet Union.

"If we are suddenly swept up by war today, it will be a 'come-as-you-are' war," said Adm. James D. Watkins, commander of the Pacific fleet. "Our most likely adversary—the Soviet Union—could come to war today with powerful forces, including the largest navy in the world."

WATKINS SPOKE after a minute of silence was observed by the entire Pearl Harbor Naval Base at 7:55 a.m. (11:55 a.m., Chicago time)—the exact moment the attack began on Dec. 7, 1941, a quiet Sunday morning.

The Arizona Memorial shrine gleamed in the sunlight and a freshening breeze rippled the waters around the turrets of the sunken battleship, in which 1,177 U.S. sailors remain buried where they died.

Single flowers from dozens of wreaths

'Our history lesson is that if we are to survive... we must pay the bill in full,' Adm. James D. Watkins said.

were dropped on the harbor waters above the Arizona, and they floated away in the morning sunlight.

"Our history lesson is that if we are to survive—if our cherished freedoms are to live—we must pay the bill in full," Watkins said. "That means attention to military strength, industrial base, educational system, patriotism and national will."

"I find that we must never again be perceived as other than ready and strong by those tempted to deny our rights and freedoms," he said.

IN THE EVENT of another major war, Watkins told invited guests and representatives of patriotic groups, the United States will not have the luxury of time to prepare for a defense.

"We no longer have the time to rebuild and rearm, train and transport, as we did in World War II," Watkins said in the keynote address.

Arizona Gov. Bruce E. Babbitt and Hawaii Lt. Gov. Jean King also attended the program.

But in a situation that illustrated the change in U.S.-Japanese relations in the 40 NAVAL CHIEF... Pg. 2

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LIBYA...Continued

have been prepared.

Reagan himself said Monday that "we have the evidence" that Libya's leader, Col. Muammar Qaddafi, had sent assassination teams to murder top-ranking U.S. officials but, rather than follow up with details, White House officials yesterday deplored leaks to the media about the alleged teams.

White House communications director David Gergen said, "The White House has made it very clear to the various departments that the president condemns these leaks."

Late yesterday, Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.) proposed a sense-of-the-Senate resolution declaring that Congress "would support and act favorably on a decision by President Reagan to impose a prohibition on the import of oil from Libya," but Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.) persuaded him to withdraw it.

Baker said he had just spoken with White House chief of staff James A. Baker III who told him the president needed more time to decide what to do. The Senate leader urged that Reagan be given "maximum flexibility" until then.

"This is a delicate moment," Sen. Baker said.

Hart described his resolution as "an effort to halt as soon as possible the American financing of international terrorism, especially when that terrorism is directed against our country."

"We are paying for Libyan terrorism, period," Hart declared. "Whether or not there is a hit team in this country, we are paying for terrorism."

The State Department estimates that U.S. purchases from Libya will total about \$6 billion to \$7 billion for 1981 and that U.S. sales to Libya will total in excess of \$700 million. Machinery and transport equipment are the leading U.S. exports to Libya.

There was increasing clamor yesterday for disclosure of at least some of the evidence of the alleged assassination scheme, said to revolve around two five-member hit teams who may have entered the United States.

Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.) said: "This thing is so hyped up it is taking on a life of its own." Dodd is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which received a secret briefing on the reported Libyan plot from FBI offi-

cials Monday afternoon.

At the White House, Gergen was pressed at the daily news briefing to make public some of the evidence the administration says it has. He said details may be produced at some future date.

Other White House officials said they are rankled by media suspicion that the hit teams are some sort of smokescreen created by the administration. "There is a misconception that we wanted this information out," one said. "Nothing could be further from the truth."

These officials also said an effort is being made to determine the origin of the leaks, with the intent of punishing those involved.

A former Carter administration official said there were several instances when Carter was in office of reported threats against the president that seemed credible enough to step up security quietly, but word of those episodes did not become public.

Gergen took strong exception to suggestions that the administration is promoting the hit team reports to lay the groundwork for action against Qaddafi.

"I personally find it astonishing that people think we somehow would go through this exercise unless we took it seriously," he said. "We are not engaged in some public relations ploy here . . . We regard this, and the government regards this, as serious."

Gergen also said it would be wrong to think that Libya was "the sole focus" of the unusual, back-to-back NSC meetings this week. But he acknowledged that it was a topic, saying, "clearly it's being discussed

NAVAL CHIEF...Continued
years since the attack, Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis couldn't attend because he had not yet returned from talks in Tokyo on curbing exports of cars made by the Japanese.

THE JAPANESE strike force against Pearl Harbor, which consisted of six aircraft carriers, 22 escort vessels and three submarines, loosed a first-wave attack of 183 torpedo planes, bombers and fighters and a second wave of 171.

The Japanese so surprised the naval base that 2,409 Americans were killed and 1,178 wounded, 18 ships were destroyed or damaged and 188 aircraft on the ground were destroyed and 159 damaged. But the attack galvanized U.S. opinion into a united fury and led to the nation's entry into the war.

Of the attacking Japanese, 185 were killed and one was captured. Japan also lost 29 planes, five midget submarines and one reconnaissance sub.

by the president with his top advisers.

Officials of several of the U.S. oil companies still operating in Libya said they are waiting for the government to inform them of its plans. About 1,500 U.S. citizens, mostly oil workers and their dependents, remain in Libya, according to the State Department.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee had scheduled a hearing this morning on possible economic options regarding Libya, but it was postponed yesterday until February.

State Department officials reportedly informed the committee that they were not prepared to testify. Senate staff aides said the session had been scheduled a couple of weeks ago before the atmosphere began to heat up.

The New York Daily News reported yesterday that the infamous international terrorist known as "Carlos" is suspected to be masterminding the assassinations scheme.

NBC News reported, on the other hand, that information provided to the Senate Intelligence Committee in another Monday briefing was inconclusive, that "Qaddafi was overheard boasting that he would have Reagan assassinated" but that there was "nothing more conclusive from the informant."

The report by correspondent Tom Pettit also quoted Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) after the briefing as having said: "There is no hard evidence at all."

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY
FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
DECEMBER 9, 1981 Pg. 1

World-Wide

NEW REVENUE MEASURES will be deferred while Reagan seeks budget cuts.

The reductions would be in spending for the 1983 fiscal year and have been made necessary by predictions of huge budget deficits. "The President wants to see how the spending decisions go" before making other moves, an aide said. The savings wouldn't affect Reagan's planned defense buildup, a senior official said.

Eventual revenue steps may include tax tied to decontrol of national-gas prices, a spokesman said, but personal tax-rate cuts would change.

House farm bill conferees agreed to many Reagan cuts and voted 13 to seven to hold basic farm-commodity programs to \$11 billion through fiscal 1986. The completed bill reverses a rejection of the proposal Monday. Major reductions are in the growth of price supports for milk, wheat and corn.

* * *

HAIG LOBBIED for foreign aid before leaving on a seven-nation trip.

The Secretary of State met privately with House Republicans to urge their support for the \$11.1 billion fiscal 1982 aid package. Asked if he had won any support, he said, "We would hope so." Haig plans stops at the NATO meeting in Brussels and in Turkey, Pakistan, India, Egypt and Morocco to bolster global determination to resist possible Soviet aggression.

Separately, Reagan aides sought to dissuade a House panel from backing a move to give Congress veto power over aid to Pakistan.

* * *

Greece's new leader spelled out his terms for remaining in NATO. Andreas Papandreou said he told defense ministers of the Western alliance meeting in Brussels that it is "essential" that NATO agrees to defend Greece's eastern border against attack by Turkey and that NATO drop plans for the two countries to share airspace over the Aegean Sea.

* * *

Richard Allen faces an expanded inquiry, as the Justice Department has decided to include the national security adviser's failure to list his consulting firm's clients on a financial disclosure form. An official said a decision hasn't been made on whether Allen will be allowed to file a second amended disclosure or have to wait until the investigation is over.

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Possible sanctions against Libya were discussed as the President met with his national security advisers for the second day on proposals aimed against Col. Muammar Qadhafi. A White House spokesman said a review of ties with Libya is nearly com-

WALL STREET JOURNAL 9 December 1981 Pg. 8

Greece Says It Has Begun NATO Pullout, Will Continue if Its Demands Aren't Met

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BRUSSELS — Greece's new leader warned that his country has begun a "process of disengagement" from the Western military alliance that will continue unless several demands are met.

Andreas Papandreou, Greece's Socialist prime minister, called "militarily and politically unacceptable" the agreement under which his country rejoined the military wing of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization last year.

As a result, he said, Greece has already put the agreement in "partial suspension." He refused to specify which parts have been suspended.

But he outlined for reporters the changes he is demanding at a meeting of NATO defense ministers here. He said he told the ministers it is "essential" that the alliance agree to defend Greece's eastern border against an attack by Turkey, a fellow NATO member. Turkey and Greece have a long history of bitter relations.

Airspace Dispute

NATO also must drop its plan for Greece and Turkey to share airspace over the Aegean Sea. Mr. Papandreou indicated Greece considers the space its own and doesn't want to negotiate over it with Turkey.

Mr. Papandreou said he was summarizing a presentation he made earlier in the day at a closed meeting of the defense ministers.

It isn't likely that the defense ministers will act immediately on Mr. Papandreou's demands. During yesterday's meeting, diplomats said, Greece agreed to begin discussing its complaints with Turkey. The issues also will be discussed at a meeting of NATO foreign ministers later this week.

Mr. Papandreou, who functions as his nation's defense chief, threatened during his campaign earlier this year to again pull

pleted. Intelligence reports say Qadhafi has sent teams to kill American leaders, but he has denied this.

* * *

Moscow was accused by the State Department of disseminating forged U.S. documents to undercut American foreign policy. Officials said a number of false papers have surfaced in recent years, though not all could be traced to the Soviet Union. One purported to show secret U.S. plans to blow up Europe with nuclear weapons in the event of war.

* * *

The U.S. and Japan open trade talks today, with American negotiators pushing to NEWS SUMMARY...Pg. 4

Greece out of the NATO military wing. In a speech to parliament after taking office, he asked legislators to reject the agreement bringing Greece back into the military alliance and he pledged to begin negotiating to remove U.S. military bases from his nation and U.S. nuclear weapons that he says are stored in Greece.

The U.S. is worried that a Greek withdrawal will weaken NATO's southern flank, which is nearest to the volatile Mideast. Furthermore, they fear that a Greek withdrawal might inspire left-wing political groups in Europe to try to force their countries to follow suit.

Common Threat

Other NATO members were encouraged that Mr. Papandreou chose to attend the defense ministers' meeting. They believe his presence shows that he won't abruptly pull Greece out of NATO, but wants to negotiate the best possible terms for remaining in the military alliance.

His remarks to reporters show that most of the conditions he is demanding are designed to strengthen his country against Turkey. The NATO alliance is designed to be united against a common threat from the Soviet Union. But Mr. Papandreou acknowledged that he thinks that in Greece's case "our frontiers are threatened by an outside country, namely Turkey."

Greece and Turkey have been having their most bitter feud over control of Cyprus. Greece withdrew from NATO's military wing in 1974 to protest Turkey's invasion of Cyprus.

In Washington, after a meeting with Cyprus President Spyros Kyprianou, President Reagan said the U.S. continues to support United Nations-supervised talks aimed at finding a solution to the dispute over Cyprus. The White House said that President Reagan believes that recent developments in the negotiations, including presentation of a UN "evaluation" of the talks, "suggest the potential for progress."

Mr. Papandreou has created a sticky problem for the alliance in demanding protection against an attack by Turkey. U.S. officials have contended that it isn't proper for an alliance to protect one member from another.

The airspace dispute stems from Greece's 1974 decision to pull out of the NATO military alliance. Before that time, NATO had given Greece control over the space. But when Greece re-entered under the "Rogers plan," negotiated by NATO commander Gen. Bernard Rogers, the two countries agreed to share the space. They were to negotiate specific details later. But Mr. Papandreou insists that Greece should again get full control of the airspace.

The Greek leader said he didn't discuss the U.S. military bases and nuclear weapons in his country. He said that negotiations over those are to begin next year.

Space Shuttle's Findings Delighting NASA Scientists

By Thomas O'Toole
Washington Post Staff Writer

As short as it was, the second flight of the space shuttle last month produced enough of the first radar "photographs" of Earth's surface to cover 10 million square kilometers, a region the size of the United States.

The abbreviated three-day flight of astronauts Joe Henry Engle and Richard Truly also generated infrared images of 80,000 kilometers of Earth's surface across four continents, discerning different types of soil and rocks for geologists.

It produced spectacular photographs of the tops of thunderclouds around the world, took the first measurements from space of fish schools in the Yellow Sea, the South China Sea and the Mediterranean, and was the first attempt from space to measure carbon monoxide pollution in the northern and southern hemispheres.

"We had planned to do these experiments over five days and we only got three," the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Dr. Jim Taranik told a news conference yesterday. "In spite of that, we think this entire mission was nothing short of an outstanding success."

While it will be months before the results are known from the six experiments carried in the shuttle's cargo bay, the scientists who designed the experiments were delighted with the way they worked.

The only experiment that did not work was an attempt to see how fast sunflower seeds grew in weightlessness.

"And the only reason it didn't work was that the mission was too short," Dr. Allan Brown of the University of Pennsylvania said. "We really needed two more days to prove the results of our experiment."

The most successful experiment carried by the shuttle was clearly the shuttle imaging radar, whose six-foot-wide antenna was able to penetrate storms, the dark of night and even the cover of vegetation to return radar "photographs" of 10 million square kilometers of the United

States, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe and Mexico.

So sharp were the radar photos that the shallow slopes of the cliffs bordering the Corinthian Canal in Greece could be discerned from space. So sensitive was the radar that images it made of the Mediterranean Sea just off Sardinia showed patterns on the sea surface made by the winds.

"This was the longest radar strip of the Earth ever taken," said Dr. Charles Elachi of California's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, where the radar was developed for the Pentagon to map rough terrain. "This is going to be a very useful tool for geologists in the future."

IRELAND...Continued

Irish struggle.

The interview was taped in Dublin Saturday, and Mr. Clark returned to the United States the next day. His comment came at the end of a long response to a question about whether his two-day visit to Dublin, and a brief visit to London just before, were part of a new American initiative to help settle the Irish problem.

"No, there is not a new initiative," Mr. Clark replied. There is, he said, "a reaffirmation of Mr. Reagan's earlier statement — an extension — further hope for reconciliation between the two traditions, and certainly the hope, the prayer of all Americans that this will ultimately lead to unification."

British Government officials were privately dismayed, although there was no public comment pending a study of the whole text of the interview. According to Government sources, Mr. Clark said nothing during his talks in London late last week that suggested any overt American Government support for reunification.

Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary, and James Prior, the Northern Ireland Secretary, were among the British officials with whom Mr. Clark met when he was in London.

In Dublin, he delivered a letter from President Reagan to Prime Minister Garret Fitzgerald expressing hope for "reconciliation between the two Irish political traditions and between Britain and Ireland."

"The United States welcomes the ef-

BALTIMORE SUN

9 December 1981 Pg. 4

Habib is returning to U.S. after ending Mideast talks

Washington (Reuter) — U.S. special Mideast envoy Philip Habib has completed his current round of talks and is returning to the United States from Beirut, the State Department said yesterday.

Department spokesman Dean Fischer said it was up to President Reagan to decide if Mr. Habib would go back to the Middle East, but he said his return to Washington "is certainly not meant to imply an end or completion of his mission."

He said he could not say what if anything the latest Habib mission had achieved.

On a related matter, Mr. Fischer said no decision had been made on whether to upgrade U.S. representation at the peace talks between Egypt and Israel. Washington is now represented at the negotiations by its ambassadors to Tel Aviv and Cairo.

NEWS SUMMARY...Cont'd

have Japan open its market further to U.S. goods. With a U.S. trade deficit with Japan that may hit \$18 billion this year, a protectionist movement is growing in Congress. Japan is expected to air its own complaints about commercial barriers.

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The Supreme Court ruled that state universities that permit student groups to use campus facilities must let those groups hold religious worship there. The eight-to-one decision didn't appear to alter the court's 19-year ban on organized prayer in public elementary and secondary schools.

* * *

Tanzania's UN envoy, Foreign Minister Salim Ahmed Salim, withdrew from further balloting for secretary-general of the United Nations. Salim followed the example of Kurt Waldheim, who last week stepped aside from seeking a third term. Both remain available if the Security Council can't agree on a compromise candidate.

* * *

Poland's Roman Catholic primate told parliament that passage of an emergency law banning strikes could provoke widespread protests. Jozef Glemp also sent urgent appeals to Premier Jaruzelski and Solidarity trade union leader Lech Walesa to avoid confrontation. Poland's army newspaper called Walesa a provocateur bent on civil war.

* * *

forts of the Irish and British Governments in widening the framework of their cooperation to this end," the President's letter said. "But as much as our hearts long for a settlement, it is not for the United States to chart the course others must follow. If the solutions are to endure, they must come from the people themselves."

EDITORIALS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 9 December 1981

Nicaragua's drift to the left

Secretary of State Alexander Haig is probably right in saying that Nicaragua is "drifting toward totalitarianism." The Marxist elements in the country's leadership are gaining almost unlimited political power, and they are using it to suppress dissent. They are also building up a military force that threatens their neighbors in Central America, and they are serving as a channel for Cuban and Soviet arms to insurgents in El Salvador and Honduras.

But did Nicaragua drift by itself, or was it pushed?

The conventional wisdom in Washington says that Cuba is responsible—that the flood of teachers, technicians, and military advisers sent by Fidel Castro are behind the leftward slide of the Sandinista leadership.

But that is only half of the story. The other half is that the United States abandoned moderate elements in the leadership at a critical period, leaving the war-shattered country with little choice but to accept aid from Cuba along with the political influence that goes with it. At a time when Congress was dilly-dallying over aid, Cuba was sending doctors, teachers, technicians, and other assistance. While the U.S. package was being delayed, trimmed, and ultimately cut off entirely, the Soviet Union was busy sending trade and aid delegations to Managua. Nicaraguan Marxists were delivering the goods. The moderates were delivering nothing and as a result they have gradually been forced to the sidelines.

So rather than sliding into totalitarianism, Nicaragua was abandoned to totalitarianism by a witless Congress.

It is probably too late to stop the drift. The problem now is how to prevent Nicaragua from becoming a base for Cuban subversion and aggression throughout Central America.

So far, the administration has emphasized military methods of dealing with that problem. Gen. Haig has refused to rule out U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua, and administration officials have talked of a naval blockade as a possible course of action.

There is only one problem with the direct

military approach: It won't work. A land operation against Nicaragua would be a political and diplomatic nightmare and possibly a practical failure. There is no reason to believe that a blockade would work. The only sensible military option is to continue and increase military assistance to Nicaragua's neighbors so they can deter military aggression and at least limit the smuggling of weapons across borders.

But far more important than any military action is economic assistance to Central America to prevent a repetition of the failure of U.S. policy in dealing with Nicaragua after the overthrow of the Somoza regime. The double blows of worldwide recession and high oil prices have staggered the region's economies, and they need help. El Salvador's embattled junta has said repeatedly that it needs no more military aid, but is urgently in need of \$300 million in economic assistance. It should get it. Honduras, Costa Rica, and Guatemala are a little better off than El Salvador, but not much.

The administration believes that private U.S. enterprise will take care of foreign aid, and that the government need do nothing but foster an atmosphere conducive to private investment. That may be good policy over the long run, but the Central American needs are now. U.S. assistance to the threatened countries should be aggressive and immediate.

To be most effective, the assistance should also be personal—the U.S. should not only give aid, but it should be seen to be giving aid. The American habit has been to throw money at aid recipients, and let it go at that. But for Central American problems, people can be far more important than cash. Doctors, technicians, agricultural specialists, and teachers not only help build the basis for a strong economy, they also show Americans to be compassionate human beings. The 2,000 Cuban teachers and medical workers in Nicaragua have probably had more to do with its present Marxist coloration than the 1,500 Cuban military advisers who are there. The United States should do no less than the Cubans, and it could do much better.

In a stew over Nicaragua

All the groaning from Washington about Nicaragua is beginning to make the United States look silly. Why should the world's strongest and richest nation get all in a stew over Nicaragua?

The latest blast against the left-wing Sandinista regime there

came over the weekend, when Secretary of State Alexander Haig asserted that 3,000 Cubans are in Nicaragua, some involved in education and development but others in military assistance.

Earlier, Haig and other U.S. officials raised the possibility of a naval blockade of Cuba and

DES MOINES REGISTER
2 December 1981 (9)

Nicaragua to choke off what they said was a flow of arms to anti-government guerrillas in neighboring El Salvador.

Mexican officials said they were assured by Haig during a recent visit that the United States is not "for the moment"

NICARAGUA... Pg. 4-E

Looser Reins for the C.I.A.

Could the Central Intelligence Agency, the nation's vital eyes and ears abroad, once again turn back to spy on law-abiding Americans and gather their names in surveillance files?

Presidents Johnson and Nixon let that happen and Presidents Ford and Carter issued orders against it. Last spring the Reagan Administration, which had pledged to "unshackle" the spy service, raised the possibility of a return to domestic spying with the first draft of a new intelligence order. Now the President has signed a revised order that is not reassuring.

The true domestic powers of the C.I.A. are to be spelled out in another, secret set of directives. The secrecy isn't new; the Carter Administration also kept two sets of books. But as the C.I.A. was the first to complain, some of the secret Carter procedures were more restrictive than the published ones. The Reagan rules are likely to be too permissive unless Congress increases its vigilance in overseeing the procedures.

When Congress created the C.I.A. in 1947, it envisioned an agency relatively unfettered by law, operating almost exclusively abroad while the F.B.I. stood guard on the home front. But the line between foreign and domestic activities is often fine. Consider, for example, the agency's need to create a cover for a spy by setting him up in some innocent-looking American setting before he is sent abroad on assignment.

This sometimes necessary ability to operate in the United States was subject to abuse. An extreme example was Operation Chaos, inspired by President Johnson's conviction that opponents of the Vietnam War, even those who broke no law, had foreign sup-

port. He ordered the C.I.A. to prove it, and the agency attempted to do so by compiling thousands of surveillance files that named hundreds of thousands of Americans.

The post-Watergate reforms required reasonable suspicion of a foreign connection *before* Americans could be catalogued or spied on. That also protected American businessmen from surveillance in their activities abroad. The Reagan order unshackles the agency in varying degrees, by requiring less suspicion of foreign ties as a condition of domestic surveillance. Thus only Congressional oversight can make sure that the C.I.A. does not again abuse its powers.

Mr. Reagan did not, however, turn back the clock to the days when Presidents decreed no limits at all. Rather than discard the Ford-Carter orders, he substituted his own. And it specifically recognizes the right of the Senate and House intelligence committees to obtain confidential oversight information. The rule of law thus remains embedded in the strange soil of intelligence.

More is needed, however, if civil liberties are to be truly protected. The Ford and Carter orders were, by design, only first steps toward the safeguard of a Congressional charter for the C.I.A. The 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act made another advance by requiring court warrants for wiretaps and bugs.

The Reagan Administration shows no enthusiasm for a C.I.A. charter. The work of Congress, however diligently it polices the executive order, won't be finished until it produces one.

No surprises in Greece

American military planners should be neither surprised nor upset by what they heard in the first major policy address by Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu.

He told parliament of his government's intention to (1) seek a timetable for the removal of the four U.S. military bases in Greece; (2) remove all nuclear arms from Greece, and (3) revoke the 1980 agreement under which Greece joined the military structure of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The proposals were part of a detailed platform adopted by Papandreu's Panhellenic Socialist Movement prior to its election victory in October. He is springing nothing new on

anybody.

- U.S. military bases, in Greece and elsewhere, are touchy issues, often lightning rods for anti-U.S. protests. Almost always, their use is heavily regulated. The U.S. bases in Greece could not be used to help resupply Israel during the 1973 Middle East war. If bases cannot be used to help U.S. allies in an emergency, why pay for them?

- The reported storage of nuclear arms in Japan set off a major political battle. Although Japan's experience with nuclear arms is unique, other countries are sensitive to them. Recall the furor in Sweden, where evidence of nuclear weapons was found on an intruding Soviet submarine.

DES MOINES REGISTER

27 November 1981 (9 December)

The military value of such weapons can be overpowered by their political and diplomatic risks.

- Greek withdrawal from NATO's military arm would not cripple that organization any more than it did in 1974, when Greece did the same after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. France is not part of NATO's military set-up, but few would deny the French commitment to the values NATO defends. There is no reason to doubt the same commitment on the part of Greece.

Papandreu, moreover, understands the United States well. He used to be an American citizen. He is a cagey and experienced politician, not a man to be belittled or fretted over.

BUSINESS WEEK 7 December 1981 (9)

The need to rebuild the Atlantic alliance

By offering to cancel deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe if the Soviet Union dismantles its own medium-range arsenal, President Reagan acknowledged for the first time that his Administration is aware of the rising tide of neutralism and pacifism washing over the Continent. Now Washington must find policies that will stem that tide. What is needed is a recommitment to the Atlantic alliance based on shared values and a common interest in trade and military defense. The new approach must be hammered home to the fresh generations of both Europeans and Americans who have no memories of World War II and the successful U.S.-European cooperation following it that produced some 30 years of peace and prosperity.

Our allies in Europe today are suffering from a severe economic malaise that is feeding a pervasive sense of decline and vulnerability (page 74). Governments are lurching both left and right as they try to dig out from under their economic problems. Huge welfare programs built during the days of fast growth are now being financed with borrowing, pushing up government debt. Unemployment is rampant and will reach 8% this year and probably 9% in 1982.

This economic weakness feeds widespread political unrest. Europeans are questioning, and in some cases attacking, the postwar institutions that tied Europe to the U.S. and formed the framework for peaceful growth on both sides of the Atlantic. In West Germany, for example, a pacifist movement is feeding sentiment for reunifying under a neutralist banner with East Germany. As European countries resist U.S. prodding to increase defense spending, NATO is under growing strains. The Common Market, long an engine of growth in Europe, is

stalling as protectionist barriers foul up its mechanism.

The Reagan Administration bears part of the blame for the outburst of antinuclear pacifism and neutralism in Europe. It delayed moving toward negotiations with the Soviets on curbing theater missiles in Europe, which had been agreed on by the NATO allies when they decided to install a new generation of medium-range missiles in 1979. This delay gave added plausibility to the fears among many Europeans that the U.S. was bent on a new round in the nuclear arms race.

The crisis showed once again that the U.S.-European alliance requires recognition of the interests of all parties. The Administration should now start again to make use of the alliance's related institutions, such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development and the General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade, to negotiate and settle potential conflicts among the allies in areas such as trade protectionism. Cooperation by the U.S. and its European allies in dealing with such problems will strengthen the alliance.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European affairs Lawrence S. Eagleburger recently outlined what he called a "rich agenda" of areas of current or potential crisis where such cooperation would be useful. Among them, he listed a permanent peace in the Middle East, the restoration of independence and nonalignment for Afghanistan and Kampuchea, stability and growth for Central America, independence for Namibia, and security for Angola free of outside forces.

Working with our European allies puts some constraints on U.S. policy and behavior. But this is a necessary price. The country needs these allies even more now than in the days following World War II.

Danger of Delay

So the Geneva talks on the Euro-missiles have begun. There is no reasonable expectation that they will come to a successful conclusion any time soon. Both the United States and the Soviet Union laid out their maximal positions beforehand — the Americans calling for a "zero option" that would require the Soviets to dismantle their existing missiles targeted on Europe, and the Russians calling for a moratorium that would preserve their existing advantage in land-based missiles.

Both sides have dispatched tough negotiators ("hawks") to Geneva — Paul Nitze for the U.S. and Yuli Kvitsinsky for the U.S.S.R. Neither is likely to back down from his side's maximum demand

without carefully exacting concessions from the opposite party. Spokesmen for both delegations have predicted that the talks will grind on inconclusively for at least 16 months.

Any arms-control talks entail complexities that make haste imprudent. Yet the subject is of such overriding importance that impatient publics, especially in the democratic nations, expect quantifiable progress, the sooner the better. Negotiators Nitze and Kvitsinsky have agreed to impose a virtual news blackout on the proceedings; that is supposed to show that some serious hard bargaining will be taking place in secret.

The Reagan administration was correct to enter these talks — in-

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
5 December 1981 (9)

deed, it had little choice since its NATO allies have conditioned their acceptance of modernized Pershing II and cruise missiles on an attempt being made at the bargaining table to eliminate their necessity. But this thought makes us nervous: Could protracted, inconclusive talks play right into the Soviets' hands?

A delay in the talks could mean a delay in the NATO modernization program, which is scheduled for implementation in mid-1983. That program is designed to offset at least partially the huge strategic advantage the Soviets have seized in the European theater since 1977 with their potent SS-20 missiles.

DELAY . . . Pg. 4-E

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES 8 December 1981 (9)

Needed: professional U.S. diplomats

W. Averell Harriman was a superb diplomat, even though he wasn't trained in the ranks of the State Department. The same is true for Mike Mansfield, our ambassador to Japan. But they are exceptions.

Too many amateur ambassadors are duds who damage U.S. relations and weaken morale among career diplomatic officers.

It's alarming to see President Reagan striding toward a post-World War II record in

patronage appointments. So far, 44 percent of his ambassador-appointees have come outside the foreign service. Compare that with President Dwight D. Eisenhower's 32 percent, Lyndon B. Johnson's 37, Richard M. Nixon's 32, Gerald Ford's 38 and Jimmy Carter's 27.

A few years ago the House and the Senate were worried by even fewer patronage appointees. They expressed "a sense of Congress" that more ambassadors should come

from career foreign-service ranks. Reagan, despite a few excellent appointments, has ignored that concern.

That's why Sen. Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.) wants to amend the Foreign Service Act of 1980 to put a 15 percent cap on the number of politically appointed ambassadors.

Mathias has the right idea. Today's world is too dangerous to risk appointees whose only qualifications are political ties.

DELAY...Continued

Even with the independent French forces included in the arms equation (as Moscow wants them counted), the Soviets have more than a 2-to-1 advantage in intermediate-range weapons, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies. With only the most threatening weapons, the land-based missiles of 1,000- to 5,000-kilometer range, taken into account, the Soviet advantage grows to almost 50-to-1 (875 Soviet warheads vs. 18 for the West, all of them French). If British and French subs are counted, the Soviet edge is still 5-to-1.

Those 108 Pershing IIs in the proposed NATO modernization would be able to strike Soviet tar-

gets as fast as the SS-20s could hit Europe, and with even greater accuracy. And while the 464 cruise missiles are slower, they are feared by the Soviets because they can fly low and escape radar detection. Thus, the deployment of these missiles would provide a real deterrent against the Soviets pushing the button to destroy Western Europe or (more likely) using their military superiority to blackmail the free nations.

To stave off this American equalizer, Moscow has cleverly played on (and even partially financed, according to NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns) a growing "peace movement" in West Germany and other NATO nations. The Americans are presented as

the warmongers; the Russians as the peacemakers, even though it is their huge military buildup that has motivated the U.S. to rearm. That the Kremlin selected an expert in West German public opinion as its chief arms negotiator may say something about Soviet objectives.

It is possible the Soviets see Geneva as a way to stall for time while European public opinion turns against and kills the NATO modernization without the Kremlin having to make any real reductions in its own menacing arms. If the Soviets appear to be stonewalling in those hush-hush arms talks, the Americans ought to come out from behind those closed doors and say so.

NICARAGUA...Continued

contemplating direct military intervention in Latin America. That qualification is important — and worrisome.

The Sandinistas are not models of efficient or democratic government. When they padlock a newspaper or jail a political opponent, Haig and others should complain. There is no justification for military action that even the Pentagon is said to be wary of undertaking. The United States puts itself in a poor position to protest any Soviet military intervention in Poland when it seems to regard military steps in Nicaragua as proper.

Rather than intimidate the Sandinistas, the vague U.S. threats are likely to unify Nicaraguan people around an old, familiar issue: "Yankee imperialism."

If the United States is angry because of real or supposed outside assistance to guerrillas in El Salvador, it should first document its case to the satisfaction of its hemispheric partners. Their support would be needed in any U.S. military steps. That essential first step has not been taken. Washington seems content to mutter threats — not much of a diplomatic strategy.

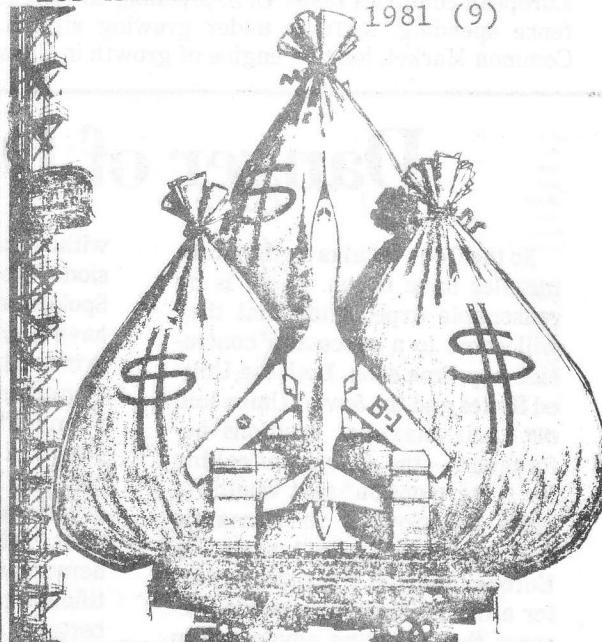
RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH 9 December 1981

Pentagon rejects contract claims Pg. 2

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Pentagon said yesterday it has rejected about \$3.5 billion in claimed contractor costs that had been questioned by auditors on grounds of fraud and waste.

The report said 53 percent of the actions were raised during the six months that ended Sept. 30 and the additional 47 percent stemmed from earlier reports, apparently a reference to audits dating from the Carter administration.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 8 December 1981 (9)



Non-recoverable boosters.

FEATURES/COLUMNISTS

WASHINGTON POST 9 December 1981 Pg. 31

David S. Broder

We Have to Negotiate, Mr. Rostow

On Nov. 30, the day the new round of nuclear disarmament talks began in Geneva between the Soviet Union and the United States, Eugene V. Rostow, the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, made a speech before the English-Speaking Union in London. It is a speech worth noting.

The sentiments were nothing new from Rostow. But the skepticism this senior Reagan administration official expressed about the effort at capping the nuclear arms race is an important warning sign of the barriers to be overcome—not just in Russia but here—before the hopes of Geneva can be realized.

The essence of Rostow's argument can be summarized in a series of excerpted quotations:

"The wall between conventional and nuclear war can never be impermeable, no matter how high we make it. Small wars can become big ones at least as readily as in the days when archdukes were assassinated at Sarajevo and Danzig was the center of world concern. It is now apparent that arms control agreements are hardly worth having if they make the world safe for conventional warfare, terrorism and the movement of armed bands across international borders."

Again: While "arms control agreements could result in a somewhat more stable environment, at least in restraining the potential escalation of conventional force conflicts . . . under contemporary circumstances, that is an insufficient goal, and probably an illusory one. . . . The fruits of SALT I and SALT II have turned to ashes in our mouths. The decade which began 10 years ago with high hopes of détente became the worst decade of the entire Cold War."

Rostow's argument is that the great danger is not nuclear war but the relentless aggressiveness of the Soviet Union. "There is no blinking the fact that the Soviet Union risks war in its

NEGOTIATE . . . Pg 2-F

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 9 Dec. 1981 Pg. 23

Nuclear arms: let's keep open the 'window of verifiability'

By Warren F. Davis

President Reagan has recently made public his plans for modernization of US strategic forces. One of the principal justifications given for the accompanying defense budget is an alleged "window of vulnerability" which the administration wants to "slam shut."

But while debate swirls around the issues of alleged Soviet "superiority," "spending gaps" and the "window of vulnerability," a far more significant and much less known "window of verifiability" may be quietly and forever eased shut.

When the United States first sought agreements with the USSR on limiting the arms race an obstacle presented itself which was then insurmountable: the problem of verification. The USSR especially would not accept the only available practicable measure — on-site verification.

Then the steady advance of technology brought us, fortunately, into the window of verifiability. Using advanced remote systems, especially satellite-borne, it became possible for both powers adequately to verify the other's compliance and the stage was set for mutually acceptable agreements. Noteworthy are the ABM and limited test ban treaties. To date there have been no significant compromises by either party of the terms of these treaties.

However, the inexorable process of technological advance which brought us past one edge of the verifiability window is now finally about to bring us past the edge out of the era of verifiability, probably forever.

The accuracy of strategic weapons has steadily increased. The size of a warhead for a given yield has steadily decreased. The cruise missile, for example, is a mere 21 feet long, is easily concealed, and can deliver a warhead of 16 times the yield of that placed on Hiroshima to within 100 feet of the intended target.

This, and devices of the same class, can be hidden in a wide variety of numerous and otherwise nonthreatening vehicles — 747 aircraft, cargo ships, tractor-trailers, etc. Once tested and deployed in this way the other party can no longer verify compliance. Thus

the relentless application of new technology to weapons systems inevitably brings about a circumstance in which negotiations based on verification become impossible.

Essentially simultaneously, the same process of technological advance has conspired to undermine the survivability of land-based strategic systems, also probably forever.

In the early 1960s the state of US and Soviet technologies was such that a very good case could be made for deploying a system of land-based strategic missiles to deter attack. The required missiles were large. They each carried only a single warhead. They were not easily targetable. Guidance systems were crude by comparison with current technology. It wasn't even remotely possible for either the US or the USSR to launch a preemptive countersilo strike against the other. The kind of coordinated, precision targeting required to disable a field of hardened silos just did not exist. Thus it was possible for both sides to erect a stable and credible land-based deterrent force. A telling measure of this stability is that it was possible to maintain our Minuteman land-based force at a constant level of about 1,000 missiles for two decades.

The true significance of the long search for an MX basing mode is that technological advances have rendered all land-basing schemes ultimately vulnerable. Land-based strategic weapons have become as obsolete as the crossbow.

A telling measure of this fact is that, in spite of an extraordinary effort, no acceptable basing on land has yet been found for the MX. Moreover, those schemes which have been contemplated soon require ABM defenses and indefinite increases in the number of primary missiles, in contrast with the stable past history of US land-based forces. Once the obsolescence of land-basing is recognized it is easy to see how unenviable is the Soviet position with 75 percent of its deterrent on land and just now completing an expensive modernization of that component.

While the administration appropriates massive sums to the modernization of what

NUCLEAR ARMS . . . Pg 2-F

NEW YORK TIMES
9 Dec. 1981 Pg. 31

Dilemma In the Horn

Richard F. Sherman

LOS ANGELES — The Soviet Union has experienced a number of frustrations in the Horn of Africa in the last five years. Faced with several unresolved local conflicts and a variety of ethnic tensions, the Russians find themselves increasingly in a "no win" situation. This will remain true as long as the several indigenous Marxist movements in the region are at odds with one another and the Russians persevere in attempting to meet questions of national self-determination with rigid Marxist-Leninist answers.

An estimated 2,000 Soviet troops, along with some 15,000 Cubans, and a smattering of East Germans and Southern Yemenis support Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam's Marxist regime in Ethiopia. The Soviet Union switched its allegiance from Somalia in 1977, opting for Colonel Mengistu's more populous country, which is richer in natural resources.

Yet, in spite of considerable Soviet and Cuban military aid, the Ethiopian Government has been unable to defeat or even contain a number of nationalist movements within its territory, thus jeopardizing an effective, long-term Soviet presence there. The stalemate between Government and guerrillas undermines the Russians' image as a strong, decisive actor in Africa.

The Russians have found that exceedingly rugged terrain often makes it futile to wage counterinsurgency efforts against the region's various ethnic groups. The Eritreans, western Somalis, Oromos, and Tigres have increasingly emerged as well-organized, disciplined nationalist movements. These movements have arisen indigenously, each in a different area of the country, and although they differ in organization and ideology, they are alike in their opposition to the military regime in Addis Ababa.

The oldest of these groups, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, began the revolution 20 years ago and remains a thorn in Ethiopia's side. It is Marxist in ideology but is determined to deny the Russians unhindered access to the Red Sea ports of Massawa and Assab. The Western Somali Liberation Front is not Marxist, but it too opposes Ethiopian rule — in this case in the Ogaden region. The Oromo Liberation Front is also nationalist rather than Marxist, and it is steadily gaining momentum, as the Oromo people, who constitute some 50 percent of Ethiopia's population, become ever more disenchanted with their insignificant role in Colonel Mengistu's Government. The Tigre

NEGOTIATE ... Cont.

campaigns of expansionism all over the world," he says. And since every war, in his view, is potentially a nuclear war, there can be no real security unless Russia renounces its expansionist goals.

Since earlier arms control agreements have not halted that Soviet imperialism and since the existence of the agreements may have lulled the West into neglecting its own defense needs, the nuclear weapons treaties "have turned to ashes in our mouths."

Believing that, Rostow makes only the most grudging concession to the president's decision to enter a new round of arms negotiations. Indeed, he exclaims at one point, "arms negotiations have no magic in themselves."

Rostow is exceptional in having the temerity to express these doubts at the very moment when the president has launched an ambitious nuclear disarmament plan. But his view is far from unique. There are many like-minded skeptics in the Reagan administration and in Congress who argue that no arms control agreement is worthwhile unless it somehow compels the Soviets also to renounce their habit of creating and exploiting political and military problems all around the globe.

For the moment, Ronald Reagan has embraced the opposite view—that nuclear war is an evil in itself. He said plainly in his National Press Club speech that limitations on deploying, developing and testing nuclear weapons are goals worth seeking even in—and perhaps especially because of—the shaky international environment.

He embraced the view that avoiding the use of nuclear weapons in warfare for 36 years is perhaps the most significant achievement of the past generation, one not easily to be dismissed.

People's Liberation Front, operating in Ethiopia's northern province, are more like the Eritrean People's Liberation Front in their Marxist ideology and military discipline.

Instead of making an effort to understand the ethnic tensions that divide these groups from the Mengistu regime, the Russians in Ethiopia remain preoccupied with questions of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Both the Ethiopian regime and the Eritreans claim to be Marxist, as did the Soviet Union's former allies in Somalia. But a host of Marxist movements at odds with one another does nothing to serve Soviet interests. Consequently, the Russians, with the assistance of Fidel Castro,

NUCLEAR ARMS ... Continued

has become a problem without a solution and forestalls serious arms negotiations, the window of verifiability is slowly closing. With it will close also the fundamental basis upon which nuclear arms negotiations rest: verification of compliance by nonintrusive measures not requiring cooperative acts by the examined party.

It is in the interest of the US, to say nothing of the Soviet Union or the rest of the world, to recognize the intrinsic vulnerability from now on of all land-based strategic forces and to get on with arms negotiations before the verifiability window has finally closed completely and forever.

Warren F. Davis has an extensive background in ballistic missile defense work and is currently president of High Technology Professionals for Peace based near Boston.

It is true that in those 36 years there has been a multiplicity of small wars. There have been countless shifts in the world balance of power, affecting the interests of the Soviet Union and the United States. But all of those conflicts and shifts have not been one-sided. The Soviets—no less than the United States—must reckon their losses along with their gains.

Those calculations are all dwarfed by the overriding fact that, for 36 years, we have avoided nuclear war. We have avoided it because presidents of both parties understood—contrary to Rostow—that arms-control agreements are worth having, even if they still leave us to contend with the risks of conventional warfare, terrorism and cross-border conflicts.

Rostow may believe that the fruits of those treaties are just "ashes in our mouths." But there are many—including, I think, this president of the United States—who rejoice that the globe has not been reduced to nuclear ash, as it might have been without the continuing quest for nuclear arms control.

have attempted to appeal to a sense of "Socialist brotherhood" in transcending nationalist differences.

Yet, the long-standing tensions in the Horn cannot be reduced to questions of ideology or class. Attempting to address ethnic needs with trite Marxist answers is certain to lead to frustration, and ultimately to failure. Too few of the questions facing the peoples of the Horn can be properly addressed with Soviet concepts. Ethnic divisions in this, or any part of Africa will not be resolved by proletarian internationalism. Not until the peoples of the Horn experience some degree of self-deter-

DILEMMA ... Pg. 3-F

The Khadafy plot: fact, fiction and fears



**Lars-Erik
Nelson**

"Reagan," Newsweek magazine says in its current issue. "The government's information came principally from an informant — a former Lebanese terrorist . . . who defected in Western Europe three weeks ago . . ."

"Six weeks ago, a captured Lebanese terrorist broke under questioning in Tel Aviv," novelist Robert Ludlum wrote in his 1980 best-seller "The Bourne Identity." "Pleading to be spared execution, he claimed to possess extraordinary information about the assassin, Carlos."

"It's Carlos we're looking for," a government official told the Daily News Monday night. "We've been told he's behind the plot against Reagan."

The line between fact and fiction, never clear in conspiracy theories, has become particularly blurred in the leaks and speculation about the current threat to the President. If it were not so deadly serious, there would be an Alice in Wonderland quality to the sight of two world leaders publicly accusing each other of plotting murder. But it is clear that both Reagan and Khadafy are genuinely worried that each has ordered the death of the other.

"We have the evidence," Reagan said Monday. "It is the behavior of America, preparing to assassinate me," Khadafy said in a television interview Sunday.

In the dark labyrinth of his own mind, Khadafy knows why he is marked for death. Reagan has vowed to let none of his friends in the Middle East go the way of the shah of Iran. That means the U.S. is committed to preserve the regimes of Jordan's King Hussein, the Saudi royal family, Sudanese President Jaafar Numeiry, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, Morocco's King Hassan II and Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba. The biggest threat to each of these is subversion sponsored by Khadafy. The obvious way to remove the threat is to remove Khadafy.

UNITED STATES intelligence officials, with the help of their mysterious informant, believe Khadafy decided to fight back by ordering the death of Reagan or any one else high in the administration. Certainly his track record is bloody enough: he has ordered the deaths of at least eight Libyan exiles and is suspected of complicity in the shooting attack on U.S. charge d'affaires Christian Chapman in Paris last month.

And Carlos, despite Ludlum's use of him in a novel, is certainly real. He is accused of masterminding the 1975 kidnaping of an Arab oil minister in Vienna and of collaborating with terrorist groups throughout the Middle East and Europe. He is

KHADAFY PLOT... Pg. 4-F

WASHINGTON — "Security was tightened at the top echelons of government recently upon word that an assassination squad dispatched by Libyan strongman Muammar Khadafy had entered the United States with instructions to kill President

NEW YORK TIMES 9 December 1981 Pg. 31

WASHINGTON

A Talk With Haig (I)

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8 — During his first year in office, Secretary of State Haig has been the object of intense curiosity, not only in this capital but in many other capitals of the world.

This started in the first days of the Reagan Administration, when he sent a memorandum to the White House outlining the authority he thought he should have under the President, over the formulation and administration of the nation's foreign policy. His requests were not unreasonable, but were regarded in the White House as excessive and were rejected.

Later, when President Reagan was shot, Mr. Haig appeared in the White House press room and indicated that he was "in charge." Later still, when the allied capitals were concerned with massive anti-nuclear protests, he told Congress that NATO had considered a "demonstration" nuclear explosion to warn the Russians against any military invasion of Western Europe. And beyond that, he complained publicly that there was some kind of conspiracy within the Reagan Administration to "get" him.

All this, plus his tendency to emphasize military answers to political questions, led to speculation about his judgment and eventually to veiled discussion about his health. I asked to talk to him on the record about the last year and his vision of the next year, and suggested that these personal ques-

tions should be addressed. He agreed.

Q. I find this a disagreeable subject . . . but wherever I go, I'm asked about your health. It's a factor in the minds of many people and I think it ought to be laid to rest. The basis of the question is always the same: that is to say, that one day you seem to be serene; a week later you seem to be very tight and concerned about your position and your turf. And that always goes back to questions about your triple-bypass heart operation [on April 1, 1980]. Not so much about the operation itself but about what medication you may be taking.

HAIG. I take none whatsoever. I haven't taken any since three months after my operation. . . . It's absolute nonsense. That doesn't mean I can make any predictions about myself for the future. . . . I don't have to tell you that that [rumor] was planted and fed and nourished.

Q. It wasn't planted on me. This is something that originally came to me from some of your closest friends, who wish you well. . . .

HAIG. I haven't changed my style in 20 years that I'm aware of, and that style is to get mad when things go wrong. [Anger] is a management vehicle. I don't know anyone who in a tense period would suggest that I'm a rattle-ass. I do think that some of the

HAIG . . . Pg. 4-F

DILEMNA . . . Continued
mined national expression will they be able to come together in any kind of cohesive modern state.

As long as they remain in Ethiopia, the Russians will be pursuing an elusive goal. Short-term geopolitical ends and temporary access to Red Sea ports can still be achieved, but in the long run the Russians will fail to control the "hearts and minds" of the Ethiopians. Historically none too fond of foreigners, Ethiopians will become increasingly disenchanted with the Soviet Union as it continues to bleed the economy dry, buying up its coffee, gold, and millet at below-market prices, in payment for almost \$2 billion worth of military hardware. Colonel Mengistu, already distrustful of the Soviet Union, has denied it unhindered access to air and naval

facilities. He believes that he remains in control of Ethiopia's destiny, and is using the Russians and Cubans for his own ends.

Soviet miscalculations in the Horn provide opportunities for the United States to re-establish influence in a region where until now it has not offered a workable alternative. Letting the Russians flounder in the Horn was an acceptable policy for the short term, but the United States should now develop a contingency plan for dealing with the expected power vacuum in the region.

Richard F. Sherman, author of "Eritrea: The Unfinished Revolution," is a consultant at The Rand Corporation and teaches political science at Pasadena City College.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 9 DECEMBER 1981 Pg. 16

As long as threats work, U.S. will avoid military move on Nicaragua

By James McCartney
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — For nearly a month, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. has been "beating the drums of war," as one Pentagon official put it, about what the secretary has called a growing crisis in Central America.

Analysis

On Nov. 12, Haig refused to rule out possible military action against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. On Nov. 21, he said the "hours are growing rather short" to prevent a new Cuba on the mainland. On Friday, he told the Organization of American States that the United States was prepared to do "whatever is prudent and necessary to prevent any country in the region from becoming a 'platform of terror and war.'

At the same time, Washington has been awash with leaks to the news media clearly designed to raise fears about the activities of leftist forces in Central America. The latest, a breakfast for reporters with CIA Director William Casey, produced stories that Nicaragua was on the verge of becoming a Latin "superpower."

Does this mean the United States is likely to get into a war? Does the administration have an identifiable plan for handling Central America?

A series of interviews with administration officials and a careful study

of the public record provides at least some answers.

What is occurring is a calculated, but rather poorly executed, public-relations campaign, aimed at trying to convince the Soviets, Cuba and Nicaragua, in particular, that there are limits to what the United States will tolerate in the way of communist expansion in Central America.

But the U.S. efforts should be taken with a grain of salt.

There is no evidence that there are serious prospects for military action in the near future. The Pentagon strongly opposes military action. Most military men believe such an action inevitably would lead to a Vietnam-like disaster, and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger shares that belief.

The public-relations campaign is meant to persuade the Nicaraguans to change course, and that it is not too late to do so.

It is meant to say that the United States is seriously concerned about the military buildup in Nicaragua, with forces now at 25,000 men, and even more concerned about the prospect that Nicaragua might be ready to accept sophisticated MiG fighters from the Soviet Union.

It also is meant to say that Nicaraguans must stop supplying guerrilla forces in El Salvador with weapons and that the United States is not prepared to accept Nicaragua as a base for supplying arms to revolutionary movements throughout Central America.

But there is no evidence that the administration has decided what it would do if the Nicaraguans, the Cubans and the Soviets do not respond to the warnings.

President Reagan, officials say, has not made any final decisions on long-term policy.

Instead, there is evidence that the administration will continue the tough talk and that the next step may be a major speech by the President on Latin America early next year.

There also may be increased naval maneuvers in the Caribbean and, perhaps, an elaborate military exercise involving a parachute drop.

Officials said there is some reason to believe that tough talk might work, at least partly. They noted that earlier this year, after the United States had cut economic aid to Nicaragua, and after Haig had made strong statements about El Salvador, the flow of arms from Nicaragua to El Salvador decreased. It resumed, they said, after the United States had abandoned its strong rhetoric.

The tough line, however, also is designed for wider audiences in both Latin America and the United States.

It is intended to convince other Latin countries that serious problems are developing in Central America, in the hope that it can persuade allies, such as Mexico and Venezuela, to deal with them.

And it is aimed at developing strong public support in the United States for a tougher posture in Central America.

HAIG...

Continued

concerns I expressed early on with the Administration [about decision-making] were proven on the mark.

The Secretary would not talk about his relations with Richard Allen, the head of the National Security Council in the White House, now on administrative leave pending an official inquiry into charges of conflict of interest.

"Let me just say this," Mr. Haig observed. "I think the President is aware of the problem. . . . He will deal with it in his own way. . . ."

On another peripheral question, I asked him about his days with President Nixon in the White House, and about Mr. Nixon's diplomatic theory of "calculated unpredictability."

Q. As I remember it, Nixon had a technique of confusion in dealing with the Soviets. That is to say, a way to make them in the Kremlin, when they were considering various options, think that Washington was totally unpredictable, and therefore keep them off balance. Are you doing that?

HAIG. No. I think that what Nixon was referring to — and I can't speak for him — was very close to the de Tocqueville thesis of democratic society, namely that the people of a democracy are capable of unusual reactions once events have brought them beyond the

bounds of rational tolerance. The problem is how you deal . . . with the creator of a consensus . . . to avoid miscalculation. That was the process that had begun in the wake of Watergate and Vietnam — in my view — when we were, for a host of domestic internal reasons, unable or unwilling to deal clearly with affronts to our interests in Africa, the Middle East, perhaps even in Iran and Southeast Asia.

On reorganizing the State Department next year he had little to say, except to praise his present team.

But all these preliminary questions, including ones on his self-inflicted wounds, which he admitted, and his relations with the press, which have not been excessively happy, were not really the main things on his mind.

He talked more about the play of economics and unemployment in the free nations on foreign policy in the coming year, and the agony of the poorer nations — a quarter of the human race now existing on the verge of starvation, yet providing, as he insisted, more trade for the U.S. than Europe and Japan combined.

But he agreed it was important to get personal questions out of the way before the policy questions could be addressed, and his views on policy in the past and coming year will be reported here later.

KHADAFY PLOT...Continued

believed to have murdered two French policemen closing in on him in Paris in June, 1975.

Yet it is most likely that both Reagan and Khadafy are chasing shadows.

Plotting assassination is against U.S. law. That will be scoffed at by Khadafy—and by a lot of Americans who believe the CIA to be capable of any evil—but today, in 1981, there is a real bar to official murder in the interests of U.S. national security. The Executive Order on Intelligence signed by Reagan last Friday forbids any U.S. official to plot, carry out or ask some one else to engage in an assassination.

As for Khadafy's plot, no one charged with protecting the President could afford to ignore the threat. The testimony of the defector is, according to several sources, highly plausible. He claims to have been in on the planning session when Khadafy ordered Reagan's murder.

Yet, there are some nagging doubts. Would Khadafy risk the certain annihilation he would suffer if he were proved to be behind an assassination plot? Or would he simply embark on psychological warfare against Reagan, dropping hints about a death plot and then relishing the discomfort of the greatest nation on earth living in fear of him?

"If you're going to run a scam, you send somebody out with a good cover story and get the American intelligence services all worked up," one source said. "Then when they can't come up with anything concrete, they look silly."

Meanwhile, America squirms.

Railroads would put MX on track

By Bruce Ingwersen
Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON—The U.S. railroad industry is waging a quiet but persistent campaign to persuade Pentagon brass to consider deploying nuclear-tipped MX missiles on a special fleet of disguised trains and dispersing them throughout the country.

The Illinois Central Gulf RR, one of the most ardent advocates of MX missile trains, already has volunteered to conduct the first trial runs on its 8,300-mile system from Chicago to the Gulf of Mexico.

ICG officials, moreover, have come up with a preliminary list of 30 military bases, arsenals and power plants with tight security where these missile trains could be parked and put on strategic alert. Eight of the "security sites" are in Illinois.

THE ASSOCIATION of American Railroads, representing the 37 largest carriers, argues that a rail-borne MX system would be far cheaper than any of the elaborate MX-deployment schemes seriously considered by the Carter and Reagan administrations.

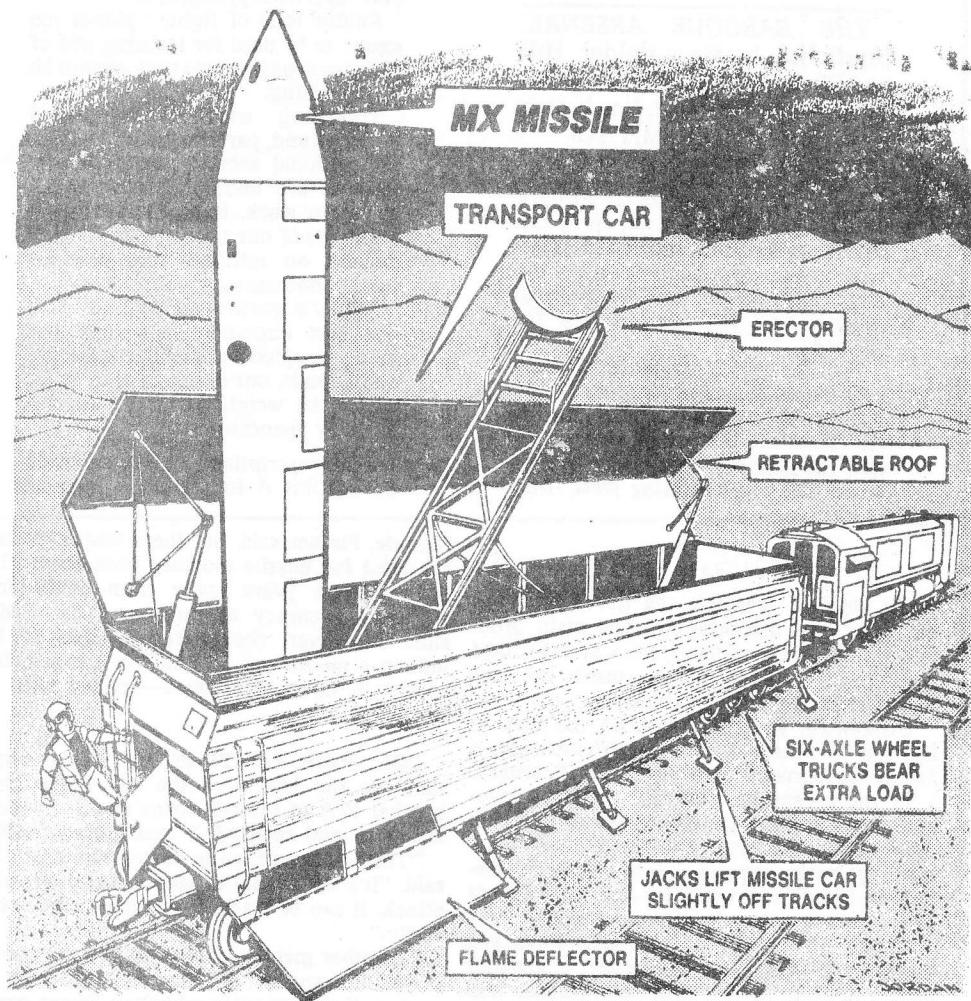
In meetings with Defense Department officials, AAR lobbyists have been urging what amounts to a revival of the Minuteman missile-train concept that was tested successfully in 1960 but discarded in favor of putting the Minuteman in underground silos.

By taking advantage of the 180,000-mile rail network, said John E. Murray, AAR vice president, the government could save billions in MX construction costs and still close the United States' "window of vulnerability" to a Soviet nuclear attack. The window symbolizes the fears of some defense experts that the Air Force's immobile phalanx of Minuteman and Titan missiles has become vulnerable to the improving accuracy of Soviet warheads.

The Air Force could confuse the Soviets by putting the mammoth MXs aboard missile carriers masked to look like ordinary freight cars and secretly shuttling them from one security site to another, Murray said. If the Soviets attacked, the missile-car roofs would open and the 10-warhead MXs would be thrust upright for the counterattack.

"WE HAVE THE most underutilized rail system in the industrialized world," Murray said. "Seventy percent of our traffic moves on 20 percent of our trackage. We wouldn't have to go through metropolitan areas. We could circumvent them and run these missile trains out with the jackrabbits in the West."

Sam R. Watkins, vice president of govern-



HOW MX MISSILE would be raised in railroad car for firing. (Sun-Times Graphic by Jack Jordan)

ment affairs for IC Industries, parent of the public with their MX lobbying campaign, lest they appear self-serving, said Murray. The railroads would not handle missile trains out of patriotism alone; they expect to profit from the defense business. But the mileage payments would not be "extravagant," he said.

"The trouble is, it possesses the novelty of straightforward simplicity."

TWO YEARS AGO, Benjamin F. Biagianni, board chairman of Southern Pacific Co., tried to interest the Pentagon in hiding the MX in rail tunnels in the West.

The response from William Perry, the Pen-

Rail executives have been loathe to go

RAILROADS... Pg. 6-F

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 9 December 1981 Pg. 17D

Lowering the fever over arms

THE BAROQUE ARSENAL.
Nonfiction by Mary Kaldor. Hill and Wang, \$14.95. **MX: PRESCRIPTION FOR DISASTER.** Nonfiction by Herbert Scoville. MIT, \$15.

As the debate heats up on military buildup and arms control, many critiques on weapons and national defense are being published. Two of the best short analyses are *The Baroque Arsenal* and *MX: Prescription for Disaster*.

The Baroque Arsenal is a wide-ranging and scholarly look at the military-industrial complex and at its effect on U.S. weapons systems and the economy. Kaldor, who also wrote *The Disintegrating West*, illus-

trates how the complex — that persistent coterie of military service branches, the Pentagon and private defense contractors — embraces the extravagant idea of evolving weapons, whereby every bomber, missile and submarine is rendered obsolete as quickly as possible by a successor. Never mind that each generation of increasingly "baroque" weapons is costlier, more complex, and less reliable than what preceded it.

Kaldor tells of fighter planes too exotic to be used for training and of tanks so sophisticated they cannot be kept running.

Tinkering with overdeveloped weapons and, paradoxically, weakening national security, defense contractors are merely keeping themselves in work, Kaldor says. Whole segments of our industrial structure depend on military spending for their economic survival.

Kaldor's warning is twofold: With our best engineers and resources being co-opted by Lockheed, Boeing and friends, our economy may falter under the weight of nonproductive military spending.

MX: Prescription for Disaster could be Exhibit A for Kaldor's book. A

RAILROADS...Continued

tagon chief of research and development at the time, was discouraging. The main problem would be the rubble from a nuclear blast that would trap the missiles inside the tunnels, thwarting any counterattack.

Undaunted, Biaggini broached the idea to Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, a fellow Californian, in a letter last February.

In the meantime, Murray, a retired two-star Army general, has continued to push the more comprehensive MX-deployment plan, meeting with Army Lt. Gen. Oren E. DeHaven, logistics director for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other Pentagon officials.

In the Air Force, the plan may have just one backer—Col. George Fischer, a logistics officer in Colorado Springs, Colo. Fischer was

the assistant commander of the Minuteman III missile train during Strategic Air Command tests from June to November, 1980.

The 13-car train, including two prototype missile cars, a command car, a diner and sleeping cars for the missile crewmen, technicians and security guards, was completely self-sufficient, Fischer said in telephone interview.

It operated out of Hill Air Force Base, Utah, making trips primarily in the northwestern part of the country, he said. The train maintained radio contact with the SAC command post as it moved from one siding to another, spending a few hours here or a few days there under a random system devised by Rand Corp.

The Minuteman III train proved completely

feasible, Fischer said, but there was no pressing need for missile mobility back then. The Soviets were years away from developing sufficient accuracy to threaten U.S. missile silos. Moreover, the operating costs of \$1 million a month—or \$60 million a month for a fleet of 60 missile trains—seemed high at the time.

COL. JOHN POLITI, deputy special assistant for the MX, said the Air Force took another look at the rail-borne missile concept last year and rejected it most emphatically.

"The basic problem is its survivability," he said. "It's vulnerable to sabotage and terrorist attack. It can be tracked by enemy agents too easily."

The other main obstacle would be the howl of public protest at the very thought of nuclear-tipped missiles whistling across grade crossings and through small towns, Politi said.

"With nuclear weapons," he asserted, "a lot of contact with the public is simply unacceptable."

The AAR's Murray has several counterarguments. In addition to camouflaging the missile carriers as boxcars or auto-rack cars, the Air Force could keep Soviet spies guessing by running decoy trains. And by parking the MX trains at well-secured defense installations and power plants, he said, the odds of terrorism and sabotage could be reduced sharply.

The Illinois Central Gulf list of security sites includes these in Illinois—the Joliet Army ammunition plant, Chanute Air Base at Rantoul, Scott Air Base at Belleville, Commonwealth Edison's Braidwood nuclear pow-

er plant, Illinois Power's Clinton nuclear power plant as well as conventional power plants at Joliet, Baldwin and Newton.

MX, though written months ago, has not been dated by the Senate's recent vote against President Reagan's plan to put MX mobile missiles in reinforced silos. Regardless of how the missiles are stored, Scoville makes clear, they will be perceived by the Soviet Union as a new "first-strike" weapon and so will escalate the arms race.

But MX is not a narrow story of one weapon. Scoville conducts a fascinating tour of our nuclear arsenal, describing its destructive potential and its deterrent value.

Scoville's recommendation, along with pursuing arms-control talks, is to stop costly land-based missile deployment and put missiles on small submarines instead. Beyond this, the author suggests that we may safely and unilaterally stop procuring more weapons.

The Baroque Arsenal and MX, like James Fallows' recent *National Defense*, are well-argued antidotes to the sentiment for military spending in Washington today. They deserve a wide hearing.

Reviewed by Brian Watson, a Boston critic with a special interest in defense issues.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
9 December 1981 Pg. 5

Gangway to Navy ship collapses, 50 injured

TRIESTE, Italy (AP)—A gangway to the U.S. Navy ship the Peugeot Sound collapsed Tuesday, injuring 50 sailors and civilians in this northern Italian port city, police said.

Police said they had no information about the seriousness of the injuries, but there were no reports of deaths. The injured were taken to Trieste's main hospital.

Some of the men were walking on the gangway when it collapsed and others were trapped under it, police said.

The U.S. consul in Trieste, Frank Golino, said the repair ship, part of the 6th Fleet, arrived in Trieste for a routine visit Dec. 3 and was scheduled to leave Dec. 14.

er plant, Illinois Power's Clinton nuclear power plant as well as conventional power plants at Joliet, Baldwin and Newton.

As for public acceptance, Murray said, railroads already are hauling tons of ammunition, spent nuclear fuel, nuclear reactor parts and missile parts virtually without incident.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 8 DECEMBER 1981 (9) Pg. 1

Military 'malady' could endanger U.S. survival

By James Coates

and Bill Neikirk

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON — They call it "the procurement sickness" — a malady that many analysts of the Pentagon's weapons-buying procedures warn is fueling inflation and endangering national survival.

It is a sickness that threatens to drain dollars from President Reagan's \$1.475 trillion defense buildup into expensive weapons that often don't work under battlefield conditions, adding to the cost pressures already generated by rising defense expenditures.

The symptoms of the disease are everywhere:

- The XM-1 main battle tank was supposed to cost \$1 million per copy but now has increased to \$3 million. It burns a gallon of fuel to travel 1,320 feet — roughly a par-four hole on a golf course.

- The airplane that is supposed to deliver the fuel-guzzling XM-1 tank to the battlefield is the C5A, notorious for its \$4 billion in overruns caused largely by the fact that its wings started falling off. The C5A is the only American plane large enough to carry the XM-1 tank, yet it can carry only two of the monster tanks at a time.

- A new armored personnel carrier named for the late Army Gen. Omar Bradley is several inches too wide to fit through the cargo doors of the C-141 cargo plane assigned to carry it to a war zone.

- The Division Air Defense Gun (DIVAD) is called the "world's most expensive gun" by Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R., Ore.), chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Yet DIVAD "failed to hit maneuvering targets" in tests of its mission to destroy Soviet helicopters and planes attacking U.S. ground troops in Europe, he said. It alone was responsible for \$32 million in cost overruns last year.

- The 1982 military budget sets aside \$531 million to build 12 AH-64 helicopters, designed to drop bombs and fire the yet undeveloped HellFire missile at enemy tanks. Yet, said Hatfield, the helicopter's prototype crashed.

THE APPROPRIATIONS chairman called for cancellation of these and sever-

Rearming America

The 'procurement sickness'

The Reagan administration's plan to embark on a massive buildup of U.S. military might has raised serious questions as to the impact—both economic and military—of such rearment. This is the third of a

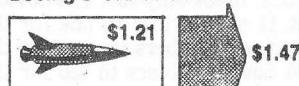
seven-part series that examines the Pentagon's less-than-impressive record of weapon development and what Americans can expect from the new trillion-dollar program.

Examples of U.S. military cost overruns

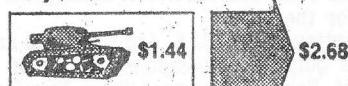
In millions of dollars; per unit of production

Key: Original estimate Current estimate

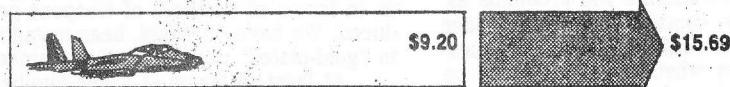
Boeing's Cruise missile



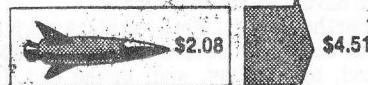
Chrysler's XM-1 tank



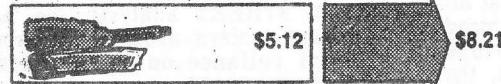
General Dynamics' F-16



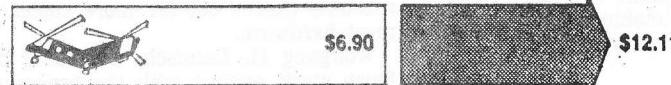
General Dynamics' Tomahawk missile



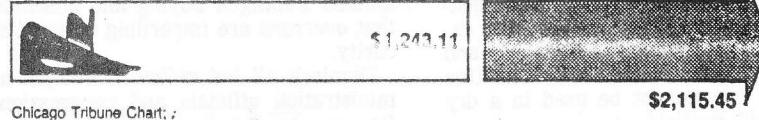
General Dynamics' DIVAD gun



Hughes' YAH-64 helicopter



Lockheed's/General Dynamics' Trident submarines and missiles



Chicago Tribune Chart; Source: U.S. General Accounting Office, Sept. 30, 1980; made public March 20, 1981

REARMING...Continued

al other weapons, charging that building such questionable hardware threatens the economy and national security alike.

"If the proposed massive expenditures on defense are not scrutinized now, we will experience an explosion in costs in the immediate years ahead that will effectively destroy the effort to strengthen the military and balance the federal budget," he warned.

Yet the procurement sickness eats away at federal dollars without any effective reforms. That's because it is a complex ailment resistant to most ordinary measures to control costs.

THE PRINCIPAL causes include:

- A system under which contractors are permitted to submit unrealistically low bids on weapons systems, only to run up the costs once they have landed the contract.

- Prolonged research and development of weapons systems, where much of the real cost lies.

- An overemphasis on "gold-plated" weapons and the best technology available.

- A revolving-door relationship between officials in the companies that produce the weapons and officials in the Defense Department, which designs and orders the weapons.

- Powerful constituencies that protect and nurture weapons systems. They are in the Pentagon, where some officers dedicate their careers to a single weapon. They are in Congress, where senators and representatives try to protect defense contracts in their districts. And they are in business and labor, where profits and jobs are paramount.

IN A WRITTEN study of flaws in defense procurement, Hatfield used the XM-1 tank to illustrate the problems as the military concentrates on "wonder weapons" but neglects pragmatic questions such as whether the tank can be shipped to where it must fight.

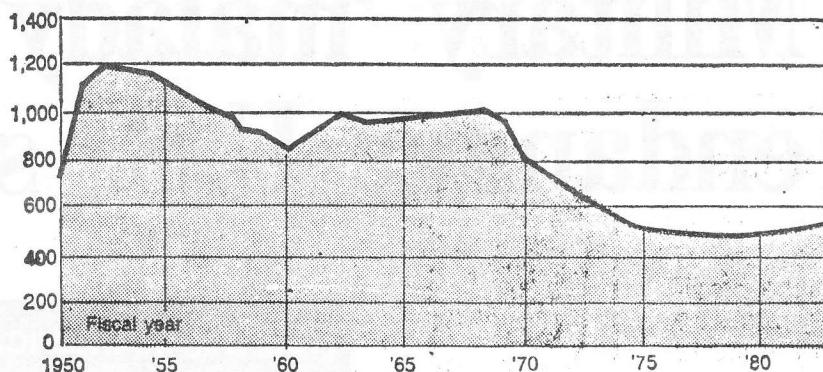
For example, Hatfield said the Army's efforts backfired when it tried to make the XM-1 the world's fastest tank by installing a turbine engine like those used in airplanes.

The problem, Hatfield said, is that although the tank can perform like a drag racer in short tests, going from zero to 50 miles per hour in a few seconds, the average tank breaks down every 43 miles and then takes 2.6 hours to repair. Those breakdowns are "making the M-1 the slowest tank in the world," Hatfield concluded.

Another fact apparently overlooked by the Army is that the turbine engine generates tremendous heat, giving off exhaust at 900 degrees Fahrenheit and above. "Troops cannot walk behind (the tank) and (it) cannot be used in a dry wood," said Hatfield.

Furthermore, Hatfield learned the tank is too heavy for many of the bridges

U.S. Navy's inventory of active ships



Chicago Tribune Graphic; Source: U.S. Department of Defense

in Europe where it is likely to be used. Finally, he said, some bridges that can withstand the tank's weight are too narrow for it.

ANOTHER REPUBLICAN, Sen. William Roth (Del.), (co-author of the Kemp-Roth tax cut-balanced budget measure favored by President Reagan) has warned that U.S. military procurement is so costly and slow that the Soviets are building vast supplies of weapons while American factories turn out only a relative handful.

For example, a Roth study found that the Soviets produced 3,000 tanks in 1980 while the U.S. made only 750. The Soviets turned out 11 submarines to one for the U.S.; 30 manned bombers to none for the U.S.; 1,300 Soviet fighters to 650 for the U.S.; 350 Soviet transport planes to none for the U.S.; and 700 Soviet helicopters to 175 for the U.S.

Pointing to high U.S. arms budgets and small outputs of weapons, Roth told a recent Senate hearing: "The Russians have in recent years consistently outdone us in terms of numbers of weapons produced. We have, in effect, been engaging in 'gold-plated' unilateral disarmament. . . . At least in terms of sheer numbers of weapons, we have spent more money and have less to show for it."

Furthermore, Roth said, American arms buying procedures are "too complicated, too lengthy, and, in the end, far too wasteful and expensive."

WALL STREET analysts, too, are expressing concern about a dangerous national reliance on "gold-plated" weapons that can be produced only in small numbers while the Soviet war machine churns out far more copies of most hardware.

Wolfgang H. Demisch, a leading defense stock analyst with the brokerage firm of Morgan Stanley & Co., Inc., examined Pentagon buying and concluded that overruns are imperiling national security.

Demisch all but ridiculed Reagan administration officials and congressional figures who debate whether to increase arms budgets by 5 per cent, 10 per cent or some other amount.

He noted that a Morgan-Stanley study of 41 major weapons being built by 21 contractors found that each weapon overran an average of 112 per cent. For every dollar the companies promised they would charge, the government was eventually billed \$2.12.

"GIVEN THAT the initial cost estimates are typically off by over 100 per cent, it seems unfruitful to debate at length whether 7 per cent or 10 per cent is the more appropriate rate of growth for defense spending," Demisch said.

The companies stand only to profit when weapons overrun costs, he warned. "There is no penalty within the system for failing to meet your cost objectives," Demisch said in an interview.

With only a limited amount of money available to buy arms, the overruns and the trend toward building more advanced — and costlier — weapons forces a large reduction in quantity and threatens security, concede Roth, Demisch, Hatfield, and many others.

"The best illustration (of shrinkage) is the Navy, whose active fleet has fallen from 976 vessels in 1968 to 469 today, while its aircraft inventory has dropped from 9,300 to 6,200," said Demisch. "Air Force and Army reductions have been of similar magnitude," Demisch added.

DINA RASOR, director of the Project on Military Procurement — a taxpayer advocate group, said the problems underscored by today's critics have concerned Pentagon leaders since at least the 1960s when Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara boasted that he would bring to Washington the cost-management techniques he had developed as president of the Ford Motor Co.

McNamara introduced the "total package procurement" program requiring contractors to agree to a fixed price for a weapon that would take several years to build.

A. Ernest Fitzgerald, a Pentagon analyst involved in Air Force weapons programs, has documented at length how McNamara's "reform" failed, creating

REARMING...Pg. 9-F

REARMING...Continued

the conditions that allowed the Lockheed C-5A Galaxy cargo jet to overrun by nearly \$4 billion.

The day McNamara announced the C-5 project, it was hailed as the "miracle of procurement," Raso recalled.

FITZGERALD, WHO gained national attention as a "whistle-blower" for disclosing the C-5 overruns, has noted in his book, "The High Priests of Waste," that this project shows that weapons procurement is as flawed today as it was in 1966 when Lockheed outbid General Dynamics (GD) and Boeing for the giant cargo jet.

All three companies, Fitzgerald said, set out to produce big jets. Boeing's is today known as the 747; GD's is the DC-10. GD and Boeing built their giant jets for the airlines after Lockheed won the C-5 contract for \$1.4 billion.

By bidding \$1.4 billion — a sum far below the roughly \$6 billion ultimately spent — Lockheed was able to "buy in" on the contract with an offer far less than the real cost.

Such buy-ins are an epidemic today, according to numerous reports such as those of Morgan Stanley and the congressional General Accounting Office which show that nearly every weapon built today has overrun by at least 100 per cent.

The low buy-in bid, followed by an overrun, of course, means that for a given amount of money, fewer weapons can be built. That, in turn, means that the military becomes weaker than the commanders and Congress had promised when the project was approved.

A COMMON reaction to these overruns is to stretch out acquisition, taking longer to build the arsenal. For example, the Army decided to stretch out the XM-1 battle tank by acquiring only 350 this year instead of more than 700 as planned when the tank was priced at \$1 million instead of \$2.7 million, the current overrun figure.

Analysts also emphasize that political forces play a big role in accelerating arms costs. Congressmen press for some weapons simply because they are built by factories in their home districts.

In the Pentagon and on the staffs of the House and Senate Armed Services committees, people build their careers around expertise on a weapons system.

DEFENSE CONTRACTORS often are centered in areas represented by members of Congress with authority over arms budgets. For example, it has long been noted that much of the defense industry is concentrated in the South, where states have produced several important Armed Services Committee chairman.

The Lockheed C-5 was built in Georgia, for example, home of the late Sen. Richard Russell (D.) leading Pentagon supporter. Similarly, much shipbuilding took place in Mississippi, home state of Sen. John Stennis (D), another major Pentagon supporter.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 8 DECEMBER 1981 (9) Pg. 12

Weapons no better beyond Iron Curtain

WASHINGTON — The new Soviet MiG-23 jet fighter has turned out to be as sluggish and bulky as an American F-105. And the MiG's engine belches smoke, often making it a sitting duck in a dogfight.

The Russian-made T-72 battle tank isn't as fast as an old-fashioned American M-60. The Soviet armor isn't very thick, either.

For Pentagon analysts, deeply concerned about whether the United States is becoming too reliant on a small number of complex weapons, take comfort from intelligence reports that the Soviets may be moving in the same direction.

The problem of quality versus quantity apparently exists on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

COPIES OF ONE briefing being given to Pentagon officials and others, which was obtained by The Tribune, indicate, for example, that both the jet fighters and battle tanks are giving

the Soviets the same type of troubles that beset American high-technology weapons.

This briefing by defense analyst Pierre Sprey focuses on the Soviet MiG-23 jet fighter — one of their best — and the new T-72 tank being built in a factory with more than 2 million square feet of space at Nizhniy Tagil.

Sprey argues that intelligence reports appearing here indicate these weapons may be encountering the same difficulties under battlefield conditions as the U.S. fighters and the new XM-1 battle tank.

A leading Pentagon expert on weapons design, Sprey compared the MiG's difficulties with those of the main U.S. "air superiority fighters," the F-15 and F-14 which have smoking engines.

IN THREE INTERVIEWS, pilots who asked not to be identified com-
WEAPONS ... Pg. 10-F

Texas, the home of former President — and Senate Majority Leader — Lyndon Johnson and today's Armed Services chairman, John Tower, boasts the major factories where General Dynamics makes F-16 jet fighters, the Bell Helicopter company produces its wares, and Boeing performs major work on the B-52 bombers and KC-135 tankers as well as many other defense plants.

General Dynamics' corporate headquarters and those of McDonnell Douglas are in St. Louis, providing jobs for thousands in the home district of the House Armed Services Committee chairman, Melvin Price (D., E. St. Louis).

Sometimes congressmen freely admit that they support certain weapons not on their merits but to help their constituents. For example, during the debate over whether to fund the B-1 bomber this year, Rep. Lyle Williams (R., Ohio), made a speech on the House floor saying he wants the airplane "because it would mean over 16,000 jobs for Ohio."

MANY DEFENSE industry executives leave companies for the Pentagon and then later return to private industry.

A study of this revolving door by the New York-based Council on Economic Priorities found that 1,641 Pentagon workers, usually lieutenant colonels or above, had been recruited to work for 10 major contractors between 1970 and 1979. During the same period, 223 executives of the 10 firms joined the Defense Department.

Such movement creates "constitu-

cies" for certain weapons, especially those that are extremely complex and probably will require a long time to design and produce — time during which interested parties will have jobs, Raso said.

James Wade, deputy director of research and engineering at the Pentagon, estimated that it takes 10 years to produce a weapon. The weapon is used in the armed forces for 20 years and gradually retired over the next 10 years, he said.

Most of the jobs spawned by weapons open during the production phase, he noted. "So, yes," said Wade, "I would acknowledge there is some pressure to keep things in research and development by some parties."

"THE CONGRESS and the military bear a huge responsibility" for such slowdowns, said Demisch. "Slowing things down is the best way to have a cost overrun."

These tactics also eliminate competition among companies from the weapons-production process, said Raso. "A lack of competition narrows the industrial base, raises the cost, and lowers the quality of our weapon systems," Raso said.

"When procurement policies fail, the taxpayer not only loses money but also loses a measure of national security," she added. "The taxpayer has a right to expect weapons that work consistently and that are delivered on time and at cost."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 7 December 1981 (9) Pg.10

Is Army on the wrong track with its new tank?

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—The monster tank rolled off a truck and into an exhibit hall of the Shoreham Hotel, where proud Army officers smiled at what wonders modern technology had wrought.

All was well until the soldier operating this machine put on the brakes. The tank kept going, stopping only after it had struck a Swedish military truck nearby, said a businessman who attended the trade show.

This is the XM-1 Abrams main battle tank, the turbine-engine, laser-gun killer that is supposed to be the apple of the Army's eye. To many critics within and without the Pentagon, it is a lemon.

Such embarrassing breakdowns keep happening to the tank despite the Army's continued assurances that most of the flaws have been corrected. Critics say the tank is neither safe nor effective.

The XM-1 tank is criticized as a costly gas-guzzler that is too heavy to transport and to cross the bridges of Europe, with an engine so hot that it burns nearby trees and attracts heat-seeking missiles. Furthermore, it has a history of breakdowns that tarnishes its reputation as the world's fastest tank.

WEAPONS...Continued

plained that their plane engines make combat dangerous because they emit smoke.

"Hell," said one flier, "There's a movie out now called 'Final Countdown' where the (aircraft carrier) Nimitz goes back in time to Pearl Harbor Day and all the 14s in the movie smoke."

On Nov. 1 the Air Force acknowledged that it had tried to solve the problem by "tuning down" the F-100 engine used in the fighters. This, in turn, reduced the planes' ability to execute certain aerobatic maneuvers such as entering sudden steep dives.

THE "TUNE-DOWNS" had occurred weeks before the announcement, and the pilots who were interviewed told a reporter they agreed to talk briefly only to express unhappiness over the lack of an announcement.

"We already had a plane they said would exceed Mach 2 just in time to run out of fuel; then they had us flying with some engineer's wish book" for an instruction manual, said one just-retired F-15 pilot.

Smoke is dangerous because it allows the enemy to see the plane long before a nonsmoking plane is visible. The pilot who spots the smoke can unleash a missile before the other pilot even knows he has been engaged

THE TANK'S latest problem involves the hydraulic fluid in the system that turns the turret and other parts. In tests this year, the tank twice suffered fire damage after a high pressure hose burst.

The fluid was supposed to be fire-resistant, but that turned out to be false, according to a report obtained by The Tribune. Its burn point was 216 degrees and its flash point 425 degrees. The engine has temperatures anywhere from 900 to 1,300 degrees.

"Any conception that its (the fluid's) use makes the Abrams tank fireproof is in error," the report said. "A substitute, more fireproof fluid should be used. As an interim solution, this hose should be shielded to divert any spray away from the hot engine."

To the Defense Department analyst and consultant who asked not to be quoted by name, the fluid leakage incident meant that the tank's fire extinguisher system failed to do its job and put out the flames.

In the 1973 Israel-Arab war, he said, 300 Israeli tankers were killed because of hydraulic fluid burns. The M-60 tank—America's current main battle tank—was involved in that war, he said, but it only points out how important the fluid is.

in battle.

U.S. ANALYSTS ALSO have noticed that the Soviets are making the more complicated MiG-23 at only two-thirds the rate Russian factories produced the earlier MiG-21 fighters. The 21s now are dispersed to Third World and some Warsaw Pact countries.

The apparent cause of the MiG production problems is efforts to install better radars, more powerful engines, and new weapons including a new type of radar missile, Sprey's analysis shows.

Similar efforts to modernize U.S. fighters have greatly decreased their annual production, Sprey and others have observed.

A SIMILAR situation has been noted by U.S. intelligence regarding the Soviet T-72 battle tank. That tank was compared with the American M-60 tank, the weapon produced before the controversial XM-1 was designed.

The big, new Soviet tank breaks down 50 to 75 per cent more often than the American M-60. It will only go 15 miles an hour while the U.S. model can sustain speeds of 20 miles an hour in combat. The heavy T-72 also runs out of gas substantially faster than the M-60.

The T-72 also can fire only 40 rounds for every 63 fired by the M-60, the analysis concluded.

SPREY'S POINT, also advocated by

BUT THIS IS NOT the only problem found in the recent operational test. The report reads like an American tragedy called the Crisis of Quality:

The knob on the gunner's primary site fell off under normal use because the "snap rings holding the knob on are insufficient." For want of a knob, the gun can't be aimed.

Cables came loose in the commander's weapons panel, causing a short. Switches on the computer panel stuck. Indicator lights failed. Metal in the gear case cracked under normal use.

The final drive train must be disconnected with a 15MM metric wrench, which is not in any ordinary mechanic's tool kit. Without it, the tank can't be towed and the engine can't be pulled out.

"Since the bolts are countersunk, an adjustable wrench cannot be used," the report said. "This is a significant maintenance burden. . . ."

COMPARED WITH other criticism leveled at the tank, made by the Chrysler Corp., these are minor.

Although the tank is supposed to go from zero to 50 miles per hour within a few seconds, it uses 3.8 gallons per mile.

NEW TANK...Pg.11-F

a growing group of Pentagon critics known loosely as the "military reform caucus," is "there are cheap winners and expensive losers," and a weapon that fails is of low quality no matter what it costs.

For example, Sprey lists 10 major weapons either in U.S. military service now or being developed. He compares them with cheaper weapons that have been available for some time to perform similar chores.

He contrasts, for example, the Swiss-made Oerlikon 35 mm antiaircraft gun, which costs \$350,000, to DIVAD, a weapon now being acquired by the Army to fire antiaircraft rounds by radar control. DIVAD, at \$10 million a gun, is 30 times as costly, Sprey says.

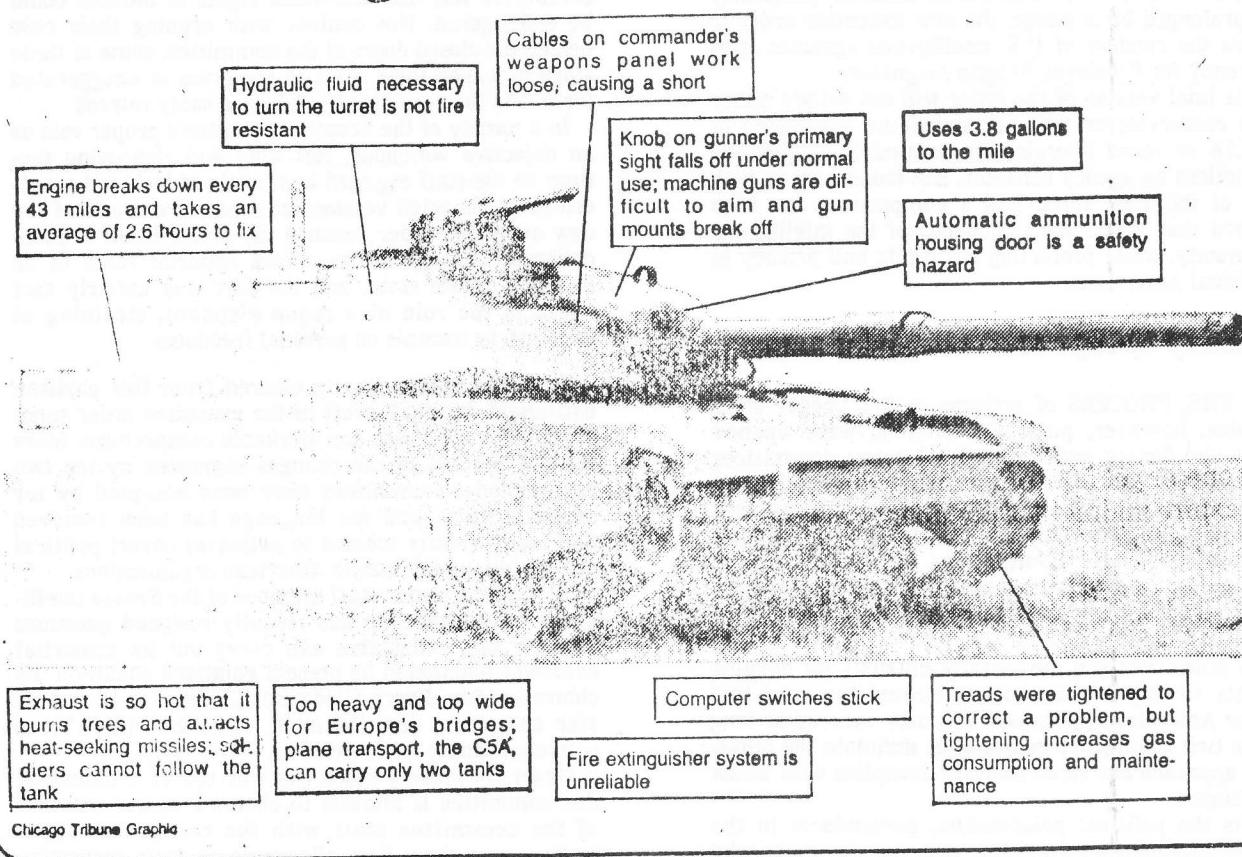
HE ALSO CONTRASTS the 30 mm GAU-8 machine cannon aboard the A-10 attack fighter with the Maverick missile. It costs roughly \$1,000 to fire the GAU-8 and \$75,000 per Maverick missile, says Sprey.

The A-10 jet itself costs \$8 million, and an F-15 E equipped with Mavericks costs \$40 million, he estimates. The F-15 costs five times as much as the A-10 for the same mission.

"Are any of the expensive choices clearly more effective?" Sprey asks his Pentagon audiences.

James Coates

What's wrong with the XM-1 tank



Chicago Tribune Graphic

NEW TANK...Continued

In the latest operational testing, it went 43 miles before it had to undergo maintenance.

The defense analyst said it fails about five times as often as the M-60, and when it fails, it takes an average of nearly three hours to fix it.

The tank had an early problem of throwing its treads. But the cure turned out to be worse than the disease. The treads were tightened, increasing the gas consumption. But when the tightened treads were thrown, they went to the inside, making the final drive fail, a much more serious problem, the analyst said.

IN DEVELOPMENT tests conducted over the last summer by engineers, it was found that only 21 per cent of the tanks could survive 4,000 miles without an overhaul on the engine, the gear box, transmission, or final drive. The Army's required percentage was 50 per cent.

At the same time, in the same test, for every hour the tank operated, it took 1.7 hours for maintenance, well above Army requirements. In an operational test con-

ducted by mechanics, it actually took 2.9 hours for maintenance for every hour of operation.

The M-60 tank, on the other hand, requires 40 minutes for maintenance for every hour of operation.

The tests also cited several hazards, including an automatic door housing the ammunition. It seems soldiers keep getting their fingers caught in the door.

THE DEFENSE analyst said the Army is in the midst of an \$800 million improvement program of the tank's armor because an unspecified round had penetrated it. "Remember, this is the magic armor that is supposed to withstand all this stuff," he said.

He said it appears the round that penetrated the armor was a more primitive type that rams through the steel by force of velocity. More modern rounds melt their way through the armor, but the M-1 has been designed to prevent that.

"The old-type hard shots are what it doesn't work against," he said.

"The armor is thinner at the rear of the tank," he said. "That means that simple infantry rounds—hand-held

rockets if you will—will go through the rear of the tank more easily than the M-60."

Further, he said, if the "new" armor is penetrated, it tends to crumple, and a whole panel has to be replaced. In other tanks, a hole in the armor can merely be plugged and the tank can go on its way.

THE COMMANDER'S 50-caliber machine gun is difficult to aim because of power control problems, the analyst said, and another machine gun is fixed in the same direction as the main gun. A third gun is mounted on a ring, he said, but "the mount keeps breaking off."

Machine-gun effectiveness is highly important to a tank, he said, because it "cleans" a battlefield of enemy soldiers who could otherwise disable it.

Critics claim that the M-1 tank has never been battle-tested in the sense that it has never been fired upon. That would be one good way to determine its effectiveness, they say. But testing the tank would be expensive. Each tank now costs nearly \$30 million a copy.

Bill Neikirk

BIRMINGHAM NEWS 29 NOVEMBER 1981 (9 DECEMBER) Pg. 3F

Cord Meyer

Final draft on intelligence operations a moderate solution

After more than 10 months of difficult pregnancy and prolonged birth pangs, the new executive order to govern the conduct of U.S. intelligence agencies is at last ready for President Reagan's signature.

This final version of the order will not satisfy either those conservatives who demanded the unleashing of the CIA or those liberals who wanted to tighten the restrictions on agency behavior. But moderates on both sides of the aisle agree that a compromise has been reached that meets the real needs of the intelligence community, while protecting the rights and privacy of individual Americans.

'Uneasy compromise'

IN THE PROCESS of arriving at this uneasy compromise, however, partisan divisions were opened within the Senate and House intelligence committees that threaten their future capacity to act as impartial congressional watchdogs. Established now by law with the right of full access to the most sensitive intelligence information, these committees represent a first attempt by a democratic government to prevent the abuse of secret power through informed legislative oversight of all intelligence activity.

No other Western democracy entrusts its deepest secrets to any parliamentary committee, and this unique American experiment can only succeed so long as the two intelligence committees maintain the bipartisan approach and strict security discipline with which they began.

It is the political polarization, particularly in the Senate intelligence committee, that troubles those who had hoped that responsible congressional oversight was the way to reconcile the requirements of open democracy with the needs of secret intelligence.

The trouble began even before President Reagan was inaugurated. Three conservative Republican staffers from the Senate intelligence committee were somehow appointed to the Reagan transition team on intelligence where they lobbied from within for radical changes in the intelligence community, only to return to their staff jobs with the committee when this transition team disbanded. This seemed to have been a clear conflict of interest with their roles as impartial overseers.

The next partisan split within the Senate committee developed when the first draft of the new executive order was completed in March. This initial version removed restrictions on intelligence collection in so sweeping a way that liberal Democratic staffers on the

committee felt that individual rights of citizens could be endangered. Not content with arguing their case behind the closed doors of the committee, some of these staffers leaked their fears to the press in exaggerated form, and the administration beat a hasty retreat.

In a parody of the Senate committee's proper role as an objective watchdog, left-wing and right-wing factions on the staff engaged in a battle of leak and counterleak as distorted versions of successive drafts of the new executive order reached the press. Some of these deliberate exaggerations raised editorial fears of an incipient police state, and the CIA was unfairly cast again in the role of a rogue elephant, straining at the leash to trample on personal freedoms.

When the smoke finally cleared from this partisan battlefield, the final draft of the executive order turns out to be a moderate and workable compromise. More than 75 percent of the changes suggested by the two congressional committees have been accepted by the administration, and the language has been removed that inadvertently seemed to authorize covert political manipulation of domestic American organizations.

However, a senior staff member of the Senate intelligence committee who has recently resigned questions whether this committee can carry out its impartial oversight function in its present polarized condition. Its chairman, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) is ill and its vice chairman, Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) is actively running for re-election.

Under its present rules, each of the 15 senators on this committee is allowed to choose a senior member of the committee staff with the result that these staffers owe their first allegiance to their respective senators rather than to the chairman. As one retired staff director put it, "nobody guards the guardians," and partisan loyalty rather than professional competence too often determines the selection of staff personnel.

Loss of unity

DISCOURAGED BY THIS breakdown of discipline and loss of bipartisan unity, senior senators like Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) and Goldwater are thinking nostalgically of the old Joint Atomic Energy Committee with its long record of leak-proof security.

In fact, radical institutional reform to establish a joint committee on intelligence with a single professional staff may be the only way to save congressional oversight from partisan destruction.

NEWSWEEK 14 DECEMBER 81 (9) Pg. 35

Taiwan's Police Shake-up

Taiwan has replaced its chief of security police in a move that could help ease tensions with the United States over the death of a Pittsburgh professor on a family visit to Nationalist China last summer. Dr. Chen Wen-chen, who taught statistics at Carnegie-Mellon University, was found dead on the National Taiwan University campus the morning after a thirteen-hour grilling by the security police about Chen's alleged anti-government activities abroad. Chen's friends have branded it a political murder, but Taiwanese authorities insist that Chen jumped or fell from the fifth floor of a building.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

14 DECEMBER 1981 (9)

PAGE 8

White House advisers are deeply split over how to halt the flow of Communist-supplied arms into explosive Central America. One faction urges a naval blockade, but others are holding out for a political-economic solution.